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THE BIMILLENNIUM HORATIANUM

Late in 1933 it was announced, through a notice in Latin Notes, that the American Classical League would sponsor a Bimillennium Horatianum in 1935.

The suggestion that such a celebration be held was made by Professor Roy C. Flickinger, of the State University of Iowa, in *The Classical Journal* 26.339-340 (February, 1931), in an editorial.

As their meetings came round, various Classical Associations, regional, national, and local, from 1931 onward, have endorsed the proposed celebration. Among them is The Classical Association of the Atlantic States.

In Latin Notes for December, 1933, Professor W. L. Carr, President of the American Classical League, announced the appointment of Professor Flickinger as Chairman of the General Committee of the Bimillennium Horatianum. A preliminary statement of the Chairman's activities to date and of his plans for the future was published in the March (1934) issues of *The Classical Journal* and *Latin Notes*.

In the University of Iowa Service Bulletin, Volume 18, No. 17 (April 28, 1934), an eight-page account of the plans for the celebration was presented. These plans have been developed further in the intervening months, in bulletins sent out by Professor Flickinger.

All persons who are in the least alive to what is going on in the classical world are thoroughly acquainted with the general outline, at least, of the plans.

There is a wide difference between the situation with respect to the Bimillennium Horatianum and that which obtained in relation to the Bimillennium Vergilianum. No Classical Association is as well off, to-day, in members or in finances, as it was five years ago. It is therefore of particular importance that duplication of work and duplication of expenditure be avoided in connection with the current celebration. Since so much has been put in print elsewhere concerning the Horatian Celebration, and so much matter concerning it has been circulated through the mails, it has not seemed necessary, it does not seem necessary now to print in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* much about the Celebration. The interest of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States as a whole, of its individual members, and of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* in the Horatian Celebration may be taken for granted.

The Classical Association of the Atlantic States early took part in the Celebration. At its annual meeting held in May, 1934, the longest paper, that read at the Dinner, by Professor Knapp, was entitled Remarks on the Artistic Methods of Horace. At the meeting of

the Association to be held at Lafayette College, on April 26-27, 1935, Dr. George K. Strodach, of Lafayette College, will read a paper on An Abstract of Horace's Thought.

In Latin Notes for March, 1935, page 3, column 1, reference is made to a check list that has been prepared to give every item relating to Horace that appears in the catalogue of the Library of Congress, the British Museum Catalogue (1890), the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Berlin Zetteldrucke. The list, the notice says, will run to "about one hundred pages of MS. and will be of invaluable assistance to every scholar interested in Horatian studies. . . . I wonder how such a list is to be made generally or readily available. Is it to be multi-graphed? is it to be printed? No classical periodical known to me could afford to print so extensive a list. Further, that a bibliography may be really useful, elaborate data about books and articles listed in it should, I am convinced, be given. My own feeling is that a true bibliography of Horace, based on the materials mentioned above, would run not merely to one hundred pages of manuscript, but to hundreds of pages of manuscript (or even of print). Who is prepared in these days of economic maladjustment to print such a list, especially in the longer form which my own conception as to what would constitute an adequate bibliography of Horace suggests?

The Library of Congress has, I believe, for a long time been in position to supply to all who desired them copies of all its library cards. Of course it must make a charge for such cards. The total cost of all its cards on such a subject as Horace would be very great, far beyond the cost of a copy of a bibliography in book form, and far beyond the purchasing power of most teachers.

Scholars able to visit the Library of Congress to pursue work on Horace would, to be sure, find a check list there very useful.

All this interests me greatly because in 1930 I was Chairman of the Vergilian Bibliography Committee for the Bimillennium Vergilianum, and because, by appointment of Professor Flickinger, I am Chairman of the Horatian Bibliography Committee of the current Celebration. When the depression made itself fully felt in 1930 and later, the plans I had been able to arrange for the publication by an American publisher of a Vergilian bibliography came, of necessity, to naught.

I may remark, in this connection, that in all the period of the Vergilian Celebration not half a dozen persons wrote to me to display any interest whatever in a Vergilian bibliography. Only two persons have

as yet written to me about a Horatian bibliography. The General Committee of the Bimillennium Horatianum has no money that can be applied to the cost of preparing and publishing a Horatian bibliography. I can see no source from which the large amount of money needed for that purpose can be secured.

Meantime there is one way of honoring Horace that will cost little—if any—money. All teachers of the Classics, all real lovers of the Classics of course own adequate editions of Horace's works. We should all use such editions in reading and rereading Horace's *ipsissima verba*. To go back to Horace himself—the source of information concerning him, his mind, his soul—is to do him far greater honor than can be done him in any other way, or in all other ways put together. Further, by going back to Horace himself every student, whatever his age, will himself gain far more than he can from all other ways of honoring Horace put together. It is fine to hear *about* some one, ancient or modern, to witness a play *about* him, but it is immensely better to hear that person himself, to read his own words, to study his own thoughts, and in this way to understand his character.

Horatium igitur nos omnes legamus, immo vero iterum iterumque legamus.

CHARLES KNAPP

VERGIL, THE LORD OF LANGUAGE¹

Since on the whole we are but little given to analysis, we often fail to realize that the most noteworthy products of any age are its poets and its philosophers, and that the culture of an age, its only lasting contribution to human development, lives on in the enduring works of such men. Many scholars to-day are spending their lives trying to unearth the relics of ancient civilizations which in dying left little imprint upon following generations, for theirs was largely a commercial culture: their representatives devoted themselves to trade and to commerce and left untilld the things of the spirit. How many of us know of Sumer and of Akkad, of Babylon, Nineveh and Ur, except as they may have been mentioned in the Bible? In such civilizations the influence even of law-givers was ephemeral.

What of the code of Hammurabi, the earliest code of law, perhaps, and very highly developed? Gone are his civilization and his code. What would remain of

Solomon but for his Psalms and his Song, but for the philosophic, poetical, and, if you will, religious history of the Jews?

So it is with the Romans. But for their poets and philosophers, what would we to-day have of them? The Romans are nearer to us in time than the aforementioned nations, but time's rapid destruction would have wrapt their history in mists, as it has that of some of the later nations, had they not developed poets and philosophers.

Further, who dare say what we should be without the afflatus of Roman poets and philosophers received through our poets and our philosophers? Without that afflatus Latin would have had little weight as a cultural medium and would not have been adopted as the Church's language in preference to Greek, Hebrew, or the vernaculars, and we should have had to develop wholly our own culture or receive the heritage of another civilization. Perhaps our northern Germanic spirit would never have become lightened, perhaps even the French spirit would never have become so brilliant without this, our common heritage, that light of culture which long was so dim through the Dark Ages, but blazed up once more in the Renaissance of medieval and modern poetry. Hence it is eminently fitting that twice within fifty years there have been Vergilian commemorations—first in 1881, the nineteen-hundredth anniversary of the poet's death, and now the two-thousandth anniversary of his birth.

Vergil, the lord of language, as Tennyson calls him, is a literary tradition. In glorifying a nation's beginnings as none before had done, as none since has done, he identified himself as the spiritual genius of that nation and the interpreter of its culture. Through the force of his spirituality, he has not only saved it from oblivion, but he has made it the focus of the rebirth of civilization and the study of it a necessity to-day for all who seek real culture. He prepared the Latin word *fides* to denote Christian faith, and he wrote of the future life of the soul in such terms as to influence Christian doctrine, perhaps as powerfully as the Bible itself. His gentleness, sympathy with dumb creatures, and love of flowers link him with all ages, his moral loftiness of tone, exaltation of piety, pagan indeed but still piety, and reverence for holy things stilled the early Church's hostility to him, pagan author though he was, so that in the Middle Ages he ranked with the Bible. We² are celebrating the bimillennial not of a Roman poet alone, but of a poet of all ages, of an eternal and ever-living religious and philosophic teacher, from whom, when once again the world had raised itself from darkness, all our literature has radiated. To him, therefore, we owe and pay homage.

I shall not discuss Vergil's earlier years and his father's and mother's families, or the probable—or possible—admixture of races that went to make him, or the source of the family wealth, or the beloved farm near Mantua whose loss became an untold boon to the world, in that the friendships Vergil won in trying to retrieve it were what was needed to make his retiring nature blossom and his great genius burgeon. We owe to this farm unending thanks for instilling in him his

¹Mr. Beach was graduated from Harvard College in 1907. Since 1912 he has been in the brokerage business. All his life he has kept up his study of the Classics. He was one of the founders of the Societas Latine Loquentium, which meets about twice a month. At the meetings Latin is spoken almost exclusively.

In 1930 Trinity College, Hartford, conferred upon Mr. Beach, *honoris causa*, the degree of Master of Arts.

On October 16, 1930, in the days of the Bimillennium Vergilianum, Mr. Beach delivered at Trinity College, Hartford, to an audience composed almost wholly of laymen an address on Vergil, *The Lord of Language*. This was privately printed, and published, with the seal of Trinity College upon the front cover page, in a pamphlet of thirty-five pages. The address was called to my attention by a professor of Classics, not connected with Trinity College. I thought the paper worth printing, in condensed form, as the expression of views held concerning Vergil by a man whose primary interest in Vergil was not that of a professional student of the Classics. Naturally, as delivered in 1930, the lecture was wholly without documentation. I have thought it best to present the paper here, too, without documentation, save in one or two instances. Certain changes in expression have been made. These have Mr. Beach's approval, as have also the omissions from the pamphlet of which mention is made above. C. K. >

love of nature and his knowledge of a farmer's life and duties, the burden of the Georgics. I shall instead let Vergil assume the *toga virilis*, and then begin his education in earnest, first in Cremona, then in Milan, and lastly in Rome. Schools in those days were not for the populace. They were private and informal, but were found, of better or worse quality, throughout the Roman domain in almost all centers. Practical wisdom was the goal of education, as it is with us to-day. What is it good for? was the question, for the Romans were nothing if not utilitarian. Civic usefulness, intense patriotism, ready obedience to authority, and the other virtues, religious and civic, that can be included under the head of dutifulness, were inculcated. The Roman word for all this is *pietas*, a word that in the English word *piety* has lost its marrow.

In Rome Vergil seems to have followed the usual course of education, a course that would naturally have led him to the bar. Indeed, according to Donatus, Vergil did once appear in court as an advocate, but the appearance was not a success.

It is related that in the School in which he was first enrolled at Rome he met Octavius (later Augustus), and became his friend. It is said, too, that he made acquaintance there with others who subsequently comprised the Augustan circle, among them many young colonials who, like Vergil himself, brought a fresh viewpoint to jaded Roman letters and in their studies in common wrought out the fundamentals of the new poetic and literary movement.

Vergil's colonial origin and the disabilities under which colonial citizenship lay, together with the failure of the Senate to grant, in accordance with its promise, the vote to the country districts, seemed designed to give him a broader basis of patriotism. Outside the Imperium Romanum there was naught, but within it, outside the walls of Rome, there was much. Rome, *pulcherrima rerum*, was the crown of this domain. But an extensive policy had become necessary; the old intensive patriotism must be abandoned.

The wars, the proscriptions, the bloodshed, and their attendant evils must have impressed Vergil. Further, knowledge of the influential men at Rome of colonial provenance, and association with his own friends from Milan and Cremona indubitably deepened and broadened his patriotism till in his mind and in his writings *Italus* and *Romanus* became synonymous terms. Rome inspired his pride, but Italy held his heart. We can imagine Vergil and the other colonials discussing the events of those troubled times, training themselves, unwittingly perhaps, for the support of the Augustan Age by viewing from their knowledge of colonial life the mean and jealous rivalries of the last years of the Roman 'Republic'. At his first meeting with Octavius (Augustus) Vergil seems to have become his ardent admirer. Throughout his life he supported Augustus and his policies. Vergil's conception of literary art and his mental greatness, however, kept him from descending to the level of a political pamphleteer.

Physically, Vergil was tall, dark, silent, serious, ungainly. Spiritually, he was a white soul, Horace says, if ever such there was.

For some time Vergil lived at Naples, studying and writing minor poems (some of which undoubtedly remain), reading avidly Greek and Roman authors, storing knowledge in his encyclopedic brain. He devoted not a little of his time to philosophy and the sciences. Indeed, he says of himself (in the Georgics 2. 475-486),

'My first wish is that the beloved Muses shall take me under their care and shall teach me the orbits of the heavens, the stars, the eclipses of the sun, the wanderings of the moon, the causes of earthquakes, the shortening of winter days. . . . But if my heart be slow to master this science, be then my delight (this is my second choice) the country, the brooks, the woods, though I miss fame. . . .'

To a new régime that had to bring order out of chaos, to reintroduce morality in place of license, to substitute honesty for falsity and envy, and to overcome the hatred and malice that had been engendered by all the troubles of recent years Vergil must have seemed indeed a find. His character, fortified by his philosophy, his seriousness, his utter freedom from jealousy and envy, his loyalty to the Emperor and his enthusiasm for the new order, coupled with his ability to present his views through verse that was inspired, must have made him thoroughly acceptable to the new régime.

Presently the poet, developed in character, was ready for the final stage of his career. He was now held in esteem and affection by the leading men in the Empire. He was versed in science and agriculture and religion. He was skilled in versification, and his antiquarian studies had provided him with untold material for his great work. Above all, his mastery of the Latin language, gained in the writing of his minor poems, had not only given him a facility of expression in Latin never before known, but had produced a musical richness not attained by any other Latin writer. His first surely genuine surviving poems were the Eclogues. I shall not discuss the political allusions in them. It is sufficient for the reader of the Eclogues to appreciate the poet's tenderness and grace, the melody of his language, the delight that he finds in the slow streams and the willows, and in the coolness of the cave, his refuge from the heat of the day. How charmingly he describes at the approach of evening the lengthening shadows descending from the hills. So vivid, indeed, is the description that, as we end the poem, we are inclined to arise and start home, ere it be dark, to enjoy with him the shepherd's simple evening meal.

An immediate popular acclaim rewarded the recital of the Eclogues (or of quotations from them) in the theaters, and they were forthwith set to music. Men felt that a new poet was risen, one who kept the best of the old, but had divested himself of slavish adherence to the old forms. A fresh breeze from the north country was blowing on Roman verse and reviving it. Tacitus tells us² that, when Vergil appeared in the theater, the audience rose and received him as though he were Augustus. Donatus (Suetonius) declares that on his rare appearances on the streets of Rome such crowds

²See Tacitus, *Dialogus* 13.2, and Professor Alfred Gudeman's notes on this passage, in his various editions, English and German, of the *Dialogus*. C. K. >

followed him that he would slip into the nearest building to avoid the adulation accorded to him.

But success brought burdens as well as glory. The public would fain have more, and called for it. But it was Maecenas and the Imperial Government whose call the poet heeded, the call to express the new era, to give it force and impetus. Vergil answered this call with the *Georgics*. Luxury, greed, and vice were rampant. Terrible wars had been waged and Italy lay suffering and must be rebuilt. Agriculture was ailing and had to compete with foreign food-stuffs raised by slave labor. Much land lay untilled, and the once happy but now discontented peasants were seeking the deteriorating pleasures and excitements of the city. With this welter of all that was unhealthy and harmful to Italy Vergil contrasts the strength, sanity, and contentment of the simple country life. Whether or not the real purpose of the *Georgics* was fulfilled, Vergil achieved in this work some of the most perfect poetry, the noblest descriptions, and the most exquisite effects that ever have come from the mind of man. Seven years he spent on these poems, ere his exacting taste allowed their publication, ere they were, as Dryden says, "the best poems of the best poet", or, as Addison says, "the most complete, elaborate and finished piece of all antiquity".

Now, so far as fate would let him mould his own life, he was free in the ripeness of his genius to follow his own tastes. Ever had he wished to sing of kings and of battles, but Apollo had plucked his ear and warned him that it behooved the shepherd to feed the fat sheep and to sing the fine-spun song. It is quite probable, however, that the *Aeneid* would never have been realized without the pressure of the court and of public clamor. Vergil was filled with terror at the difficulties and the magnitude of his task. He wrote the Emperor (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.23.11), 'I must have been mad when I embarked upon so great a work'. Yet manfully he set to work, to create a national epic, depicting legend and history, interconnecting Rome and Italy. It must exalt the Augustan régime, and must make the mind of Italy regard it as the flowering of Italy's greatness. The feats of heroes, adventure, love, all the vital human interests must be included. But his main theme was Italy, and Rome as Italy's crown. No man was ever more master than he of terse and trenchant phrases. In one line (*Aeneid* 12.827) he sums up his ideals: sit Romana potens Italia virtute propago. Therein lay hope, for Rome was sick. Not only were all the vices that had called forth the *Georgics* rampant in the populace, but political and financial conditions were appalling. The machinery designed to govern the broad Roman domain was falling to pieces; the public treasury had been almost emptied by civil wars, and reckless commercial speculation had all but caused a general collapse; treason and faithlessness had nearly done to death the old Roman *pietas* and patriotism. Such was the world to whose reconstruction Augustus had put his hand. To this effort Vergil yearned to add force. Toward this end the *Georgics* had been directed, and now the *Aeneid* gave the forces of reconstruction impetus by emphasizing the ancient Roman virtues and by blazoning the

traditions of the origin of the Roman people, an origin due to the arrival in Italy, not of nomads, but of the remnants of a famous, ancient, and cultured city, led by a prince of Priam's royal house.

We must not think that in all this Vergil received naught but praise. Far from it: his detractors were many and bitter. One of the sharpest shafts leveled at him is that he was a mere copyist of Homer. He had access to many traditions and to many stories and legends of which to us not an echo, not a name remains. Such tales as the *Aeneid* repeat themselves the world over: witness the legend of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England. Is that legend not in some degree comparable to incidents in the *Aeneid*? But it were ridiculous to say that the English story derives from the *Aeneid*. To the accusation that Homer wrote Vergil Voltaire replied, 'if that be so, it is surely his grandest work'. But what shall we say of the accusation that Vergil is artificial, and that in this so-called translation of Homer he has ruined, by his artificiality, Homer's naïve and beautiful simplicity? We need but reply in the words of a recent writer in *The Atlantic Monthly*³: " 'You can't compare heroic sagas with a conscious artistic creation' . . . " Homer was of a pastoral age, whereas Vergil lived in a cultured and refined *milieu*. Homer's beauty was more like that of the wild flowers of the field, whereas Vergil's was that of a tended, disciplined, and cultivated garden, which, however, had not degenerated into formalism.

Vergil's use of Greek words was a thorn in the flesh to many, but we must remember that in a single century Latin had been raised from a language suitable only to the camp, to country life, and to the market place, from a rude, rough, uncultivated idiom to a literary language in which anything could be said, that it had been adapted to the musical cadences of Greek meters. Moreover, because of their quantities many usual Latin words could not be employed in the *Aeneid*. Vergil had to find a way around the difficulty. Latin was not rich in vocabulary, and, therefore, not rich in synonyms. On the basis supplied by the accomplishments of a few earlier poets Vergil wrought his masterpiece, the *Aeneid*.

His fastidiousness demanded perfection, but never found it. He thought the *Aeneid* so incomplete and so wretched that he left instructions that after his death it be destroyed. Happily Augustus forbade such destruction. In the three years that Vergil planned to spend in perfecting the *Aeneid*, he would undoubtedly have eliminated the incomplete lines, the few obscure passages, and those still fewer passages that almost defy grammatical analysis. Yet, in spite of any and all defects, we have in the extant *Aeneid* a consummate artistic work, a work majestic in tone, of transcendent beauty and absorbing interest, melodious even to our ears that are not trained to the sound of Latin words, even to us for whom those words do not have

³These words Mrs. Anne C. E. Allinson put into the mouth of Varius, in a paper entitled *Anima Candida*. This paper, which is devoted to Vergil, was first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* 146 (1930), 83-92 (for the quotation see page 86). The paper was reprinted on pages 145-167 of the volume entitled *Selected Essays by Anne C. E. Allinson* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933). For the quotation see page 154. For a review, by Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of this volume see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 27.200. C. K. >.

from childhood associations of tenderness, pathos, grandeur, majesty, quaintness, and charm. If that be so, what must the Aeneid have been to the cultured Roman who enjoyed all those associations, and who knew, as we do not, the correct pronunciations and the correct Roman accentuation! What beauties must have been apparent when the poet himself, who had an excellent reading voice, recited to Augustus the verses on Marcellus! The immediate enthusiastic reception of the poem is all we need to answer detractors, a reception immediate and enthusiastic in all classes of society, as is shown not only by the fact that we find to-day in Roman ruins verses of the poem scratched on the walls of houses, but by the fact that his detractors themselves adopted his works as a textbook in their Schools. Thus was Propertius's prophecy borne out, *Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*. George Moore, in his *Héloise and Abélard* (1921), relates, in Chapter III, how in the Middle Ages the lovely Héloïse, spending a vacation from her convent with her uncle, a learned and devout man, was by him brought to understand the beauty of Vergil. The uncle, expecting a frivolous girl, had put his books away. Delighted at learning that she knew Latin, he told her of Vergil: "Never to have read Vergil! O Héloïse, what joy awaits thee! Eclogues! Aeneid! Georgics! at which end wilt thou begin?" She read it and read it all, and one day afterward, standing at her window, musing, among other things she said,

... If it had not been for Vergil, I should only have known the story of the world as told in the relations of martyrdoms and miracles and have seen the world only in the relics of the saints. But he unsealed my eyes and by night and by day the skies and the seas will be beautiful to me.... Beauty was Vergil's theme always and he taught us by drawing our attention to what is beautiful and his art was to make things, beautiful in themselves, more beautiful by exquisite refinements in language. Nothing of the world's beauty seems to have escaped him.

Verse after verse of the Aeneid, of the Eclogues, of the Georgics is known to us in the original and in translation, just as we know verses of the Bible and of Shakespeare, as terse statements of general truth. Even the American Federation of Labor has found in the Georgics its motto—*Labor omnia vincit*.

To me too much seems to have been made by scholars of Vergil's mention of religious rites. Although Vergil was without doubt a man of deep religious feeling, the religious views presented in the Aeneid should not be taken as representing Vergil's own religious philosophy or that of the educated Roman of his day. It seems reasonable to assign two motives for the frequent mention of religious rites. First, Vergil wished to lend an air of antiquity to his narrative, and therefore resurrected archaic rites and observances and beliefs (we know that he passed much time immersed in antiquarian studies); secondly, if his purpose was to instill in the Romans of his day some of their ancestors' strength and virtues and to toughen their moral fiber, his representing their putative ancestors as men of deep religious feeling, trust, and belief would be one means to that end, whatever the outward expression of that belief might be and however appropriate or inappropriate it might be to Vergil's own day, provided good

taste and reverent feelings were not violated. His own beliefs are more subtly represented. They appear here and there, poetic exemplifications of the best philosophy of his day, selected and combined by him as he sought to work out a philosophy of life. Had we time, a study of the sixth book of the Aeneid in this respect were well worth while. It was just this philosophy that appealed to the Christians, so that Vergil became the poet of Christian and of pagan alike, beloved of both. That he appealed to the Christians of the early centuries of our era is a really great matter. Idealize the early Christians as we will, we shall have to admit that they were bigoted and destructive. With the fanaticism and self-righteousness of the ignorant they scorned everything of pagan origin. They therefore set about the destruction of buildings and of books. Latin being the language of the Church, the classical authors were open to all who had the rudiments of an ecclesiastical education. But the classical authors were pagan, and the view of life that they set forth was a frank acceptance of the world that is, and of its joys and its pleasures. They were, therefore, anathema to ecclesiastical authorities, and we find St. Augustine bewailing the time he had spent in his youth on pagan authors.

In his book, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1927), Professor Charles Homer Haskins says (95-97):

... In the view of the stricter party, the study of Latin ought to be narrowly limited to the essentials of grammar which gave a practical command of the language; any further study of the ancients was at the best a waste of time, and at the worst a peril to the soul. The mere beauty of Latin style might itself be a danger for men who turned their backs on this world. St. Jerome gives an oft cited account of a vision in which an angel rebuked him for being a Ciceronian rather than a Christian. The fourth council of Carthage in 398 forbade bishops to read the books of the gentiles. "The representatives of St. Peter and his disciples," said the legate Leo in the tenth century, "will not have Plato or Virgil or Terence as their masters nor the rest of the philosophic cattle." Even a small amount of grammatical study was opposed by Gregory the Great, who wrote, "I do not shun at all the confusion of barbarians. I despise the proper constructions and cases, because I think it very unfitting that the words of the celestial oracle should be restricted by the rules of Donatus." Priscian and Donatus were criticised for omitting the name of God—an omission for which the Constitution of the United States and the multiplication table have likewise been blamed!—and Smaragdus in the ninth century wrote a grammar with the examples taken from the Vulgate instead of from the dangerous pagan authors.

The twelfth century had the same difficulties. The so-called Honorius of Autun asks, "How is the soul profited by the strife of Hector, the arguments of Plato, the poems of Virgil, or the elegies of Ovid, who, with others like them, are now gnashing their teeth in the prison of the infernal Babylon, under the cruel tyranny of Pluto?" Even Abaelard inquires 'why the bishops and doctors of the Christian religion do not expel from the City of God those poets whom Plato forbade to enter into his city of the world'; "while Nicholas, the secretary of Bernard of Clairvaux, sighs over the charm he had once found in Cicero and the poets, and in the golden sayings of the philosophers and the 'songs of the Sirens.'" Guibert de Nogent regrets the Latin poets of his youth. The poets were regarded with special disfavor, being sometimes classified with magicians.

Thus in the illustrations in the *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg four 'poets or magicians,' each with an evil spirit prompting him, are placed outside the circle of the seven liberal arts. When Gratian, ca. 1140, prepared his *Concord of Discordant Canons*, one of the major differences which he seeks to reconcile is this very question, "Shall priests be acquainted with profane literature or no?" . . .

Out of this welter of ignorance, bigotry, and fanaticism there remain about 150 manuscripts of Vergil, whereas for other poets and writers, even of high repute, we have sometimes only several, sometimes but one, sometimes but a few lines, or even nothing. This was due to Vergil's peculiar reputation, to the great use of his works as school books (Juvenal speaks of the well-thumbed and worn copies of Vergil in use in the Schools), to the veneration in which he was held as a pre-Christian prophet, largely on account of the Fourth Eclogue, to the high moral tone of his work, and to the idea that he was a magician.

During the Dark Ages man's genius had slumbered in barbarism and ignorance, and the light of learning had glowed but fitfully here and there, the while all Vergilian study had tended, if not to seek the substance of magical incantations, at least to endure his work with allegory and symbolism in a fashion that would have profoundly astonished the poet himself.

When man's mind that had lain fallow for so many centuries was once more ready to receive the seed of learning, once more sought to extend its horizon and to encompass the beauties of the world, it turned naturally for its inspiration to Vergil. Dante, one of the first of the modern poets, found in him his chief inspiration.

Tasso's Jerusalem Freed was frankly modeled on Vergil, and so it went through the Italian poets. This was, indeed, quite natural, since Vergil could well be considered their forerunner, an older poet in whose writings appeared an earlier phase of their language. They were the spark that fired the train of modern poetry in the other languages. Our own Chaucer, writer of delightful and quaint tales that, for fancied difficulties of language, too few trouble themselves to read, was largely the creator of modern English verse. He mastered and tamed a rather uncouth jargon, and substituted musical and disciplined meters for the uneven alliterative verse of a less cultured and simpler day. His debt to Roman Vergil he avows by these words of admiration and of reverence (the opening verses of *The Legend of Dido*):

Glory and Honour, Virgile Mantuan,
Be to thy name! and I shal, as I can,
Polwe thy lantern, as thou gost biforn. . . .

The Earl of Surrey, called the English Petrarch, was largely responsible for the creation, introduction, and development of blank verse, by his use of it in his translations of Books II and IV of the Aeneid, a sufficiently rigorous test. Milton was a deep student of Vergil, and drew from him in great measure, in epic structure, in artistry, in phrasing, in musical value, and in diction. We may feel that Vergil devised to Milton the majesty of *Paradise Lost*, the music and the lightness of *L'Allegro*, and the slower measured gait of *Il Penseroso*, for all these moods had appeared in Vergil, and the music

of his verse and the nature of his diction had been responsive to them. Bacon called him "The chastest poet and royalest, Vergilius Maro, that to the memory of man is known". The influence of Vergil extended through Dryden with his classical translation of Vergil's works, through Addison, and all the rest of the Georgian poets, to Keats, who in his school days turned into English the whole Aeneid for his own satisfaction and affected by this distillation of the Roman poet's work his own product of later days.

If, as one English scholar says, "the ability to read and understand Vergil is one of the things that makes life most worth living", then we are indebted to Vergil as a potent and living force, continuing as one of the most vital and inspiring figures of all times, alongside our poets offering us through them draught upon draught of the beauties of life—aye, a potent and living force, for he wrought upon one of our great poets, a poet living in our time, Tennyson, whose life was fresh and pure as Vergil's, who loved the world of nature as Vergil loved it.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT GOODWIN BATTERSON BEACH

REVIEWS

Studies on Scipio Africanus. By Richard Mansfield Haywood. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LI, Number 1. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. 114.

Dr. Haywood's book, *Studies on Scipio Africanus*, is a competent discussion of significant and debatable aspects of Scipio's career. Chapter I, *The Scipio Legend* (9-29), deals with the origin and the growth of stories that would show Scipio as more than human. Dr. Haywood discusses the notion of *felicitas*, the gratitude and the admiration Scipio's contemporaries felt toward him, the possible use of Scipio's career as an argument in pro-Caesarian and anti-Caesarian apologists, his probable deification in Greece, and the probable attribution to him, on the part of Greek authors, of divinity. This last, Dr. Haywood suggests, was the irritant which precipitated Polybius's somewhat querulous insistence (10.2.5-7; 10.9.2-3) on Scipio's skill rather than on his fortune as the determining factor of his success. It seems to me that such a legend as the Scipio legend is apt to arise out of prosaic chroniclers accepting as literal fact rhetorical or enthusiastic hyperbole in their sources. The key to the situation is such an illogical yet telling expression as Cicero's *divinum hominem Africanum* (*Pro Archia* 16). One interesting argument illustrative of Dr. Haywood's method must be noted. Many scholars think that the speech of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus against Scipio cited in Livy 38.56 is not genuine, because Cicero says (*Brutus* 79) that no works of Gracchus had survived to his day. Dr. Haywood thinks the speech genuine, and makes the suggestion that Varro may have discovered the speech while he was making the collection for Caesar's new library.

In Chapter II, Polybius' Judgment of Scipio (30-44), Dr. Haywood holds that Polybius himself is responsible

for the view that Scipio used religiosity for gaining credit with his soldiers. The scepticism in regard to Scipio's alleged mysticism is probably justified. Yet the argument is only from probability, and Dr. Haywood admits (44) Scipio's unusual personality and his consciousness of his power over men.

Chapter III (45-58) is entitled Policies and Parties: From Scipio's Early Years to Zama. The criticism of the view that makes family connections the basis of Roman politics is a just reminder that the method may be abused. Yet Dr. Haywood must admit that Scipio was sent to Spain despite his youth and his inexperience. The reason for Nero's recall from Spain, Dr. Haywood suggests, was the shortage of first-class men in Rome. This is in line with Professor Frank Burr Marsh's explanation of Roman reluctance to undertake empire, as set forth in the first chapter of his work, *The Founding of the Roman Empire*!; this book might well have found a place in Dr. Haywood's Bibliography.

Chapter IV, Scipio During the Wars with Philip and Antiochus (59-85), shows that Scipio was the leading figure at Rome during the years 200-188. His active Hellenism not only affected the cultural history of Rome but was the prime factor, according to Dr. Haywood, in determining Rome's policy in the Mediterranean, and specifically in the wars with Philip and with Antiochus. On the face of it this theory is too simple. With Senate and magistrates functioning is it possible that prestige, however great, could alone have directed such important policies, even if we disregard the not inconsiderable opposition of Cato?

Chapter V, The Catastrophe (86-105), discusses the trials leading to Scipio's fall. The careful criticism of Valerius Antias on the basis of Livy's report is especially commendable. The author gives his own Conclusions (106-108), a Bibliography (106-108; dates are as important as volume numbers in citations from periodicals, especially for a reader who does not run the references down. Dr. Haywood fails to give the dates), and an Index (113-114). The author cites Latin passages in the original, usually, and Greek passages in the Loeb Classical Library translations. In only the first citation from Polybius and Appian is the translation identified; the reader should not be left to infer that all citations are from the same source.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MOSES HADAS

A Study of the Scipionic Circle. By Ruth Martin Brown. Iowa Studies in Classical Philology, Number 1¹. Pp. 95.

The contents of Mrs. Brown's State University of Iowa dissertation are as follows: I, The Definition and the Origin of the Phrase Scipionic Circle (13-19); II, The Beginning of the Scipionic Circle (20-28); III, The Personnel of the Scipionic Circle in its Early Period (29-44); IV, The Personnel of the Scipionic Circle in

its Middle Period (45-72); V, The Personnel of the Scipionic Circle in its Final Period (73-76); VI, The Influence of the Scipionic Circle (77-84); VII, Conclusions (85-87). There are an Appendix of two pages (88-89), a Bibliography of four pages (89-93), and an Index (95).

The author concludes that the phrase "Scipionic Circle" was invented by Bernhardt and that currency was given to it by Mommsen. Her definition of the phrase would include a great deal more than a literary coterie, which is the common connotation of the expression. The beginning of the Circle is set by Mrs. Brown at about 200 B. C.

There is a logical inconsistency in Mrs. Brown's thesis with which issue may be taken, and several details of execution which may be questioned. If "Scipionic Circle" is not an ancient expression, what right have we to object to the sense which it has universally come to have and to insist that it must cover a wider range of interests? Again, if the term embraces every cultured Roman of the periods in question, as in the sense advocated by Mrs. Brown it eventually must, what meaning is there in assessing their influence as members of a special group? Is it not as if we should determine that the best poets in the 1920's were Democrats and the best painters Republicans? A group or a school or a movement is usually more clearly defined by what it opposes than by what it includes. Mrs. Brown herself posits philhellenism as a characteristic of the Scipionic Circle (13), and then includes Cato Major in her group, expressing surprise (40) that others have omitted him!

A sentence or two from the first two paragraphs of Mrs. Brown's study (1-2) will illustrate certain characteristics of her work as a whole.

The phrase Scipionic Circle is commonly defined as the literary coterie, which gathered around Scipio Aemilianus in the second century B. C. Only Ashmore and Moscrip make any attempt to define the phrase further....

... The best definition of the Scipionic Circle appears to be the following....

Is Mrs. Brown sure of "Only" in the second sentence? Here and frequently a more guarded statement would be more prudent. On page 29, for example, the second sentence reads, "... Inasmuch as modern writers, with possibly one exception, have failed to recognize that ..." So in the last sentence in the passages quoted above, some such expression as 'A properly comprehensive' is for several reasons better than "The best" for introducing the writer's own definition. "Moscrip", a note tells us, refers to an unpublished doctoral dissertation of the University of Chicago. The same note and the Tables in the Appendix also cite an unpublished master's thesis of the University of Missouri. I do not question the merits of these studies, but to criticize unpublished work savors of private polemic or advertisement. Elsewhere Mrs. Brown cites obscure or antiquated books, and sometimes for views so common as to require no special support. I do not mean to imply that an illuminating and scholarly study of the Scipionic Circle cannot be written without consulting modern authorities. But, if authorities are to be used, the reader has a right to expect that they shall be really modern,

¹Pages 1-20 (Oxford University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, 1927). This is the second edition of this work. The first edition was published in 1922 by the University of Texas as the first number of the University of Texas Studies.

²This dissertation was printed in 1934 by the Mennonite Press, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania. Copies (\$1.00 each) may be obtained by addressing the author, at Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois

and of good standing. For Latin literature the English reader turns to Duff, and for details and bibliographical *subsidia* to Schanz-Hosius². Mrs. Brown has used neither of these standard works, though she refers to the libraries of the University of Iowa, the University of Chicago, and Yale University (18). Sometimes the verbal infelicity becomes actual error, as when "philhellenic" and "philhellenistic" are used as synonyms on the same page (26). Finally, in reference to the first passage cited above ("...Only Ashmore and Moscrip") and to the dissertation as a whole, we may note that living scholars have as much right to their styles of address in printed communications as in other forms of social intercourse.

The method of the "Personnel" chapters is to devote to each name a paragraph, which must of necessity be scrappy and derivative. In the sixth chapter (81) Mrs. Brown realizes that she has set herself what she calls "a Sisyphean task..." in attempting to evaluate the "far-reaching effects upon the political and military life of the times as well as upon the morals and culture of the age..." (77), and also the influence upon literature and philosophy exerted by Ennius, Lucilius, Scaevola, Polybius, Panaetius, and Terence—all in eight pages (77-84).

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MOSES HADAS

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

XI

The Modern Language Review—July, The Proverbs in the 'Ancien Riwele', D. V. Ives ["They can be classified in groups according to their origin, in the Scriptures, classical literature, or popular tradition". From the Classics, proverbs are noted from Aristotle, Horace, Seneca, Juvenal, Fronto, Lucretius, Cicero, and the Distichs of Cato]; 'Eneas' and the 'Aeneid', Jessie Crosland [although the 'Eneas' combines Vergil and Ovid, the author "succeeded in killing the one and launching the other so far as the literary taste of his day was concerned", a fact which was accomplished by a complete disregard of the beauties of Vergil and a transformation of the characters of the Aeneid]; Ex Libris Politiani, J. M. S. Cotton [a list of the manuscripts and early printed works which were used by Politian]; Review, very favorable, by B. E. C. Davis, of Henry B. Lathrop, Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman.

The Nation—July 11, Brief review, uncritical, of Silius Italicus, Punica, Translated by J. D. Duff (two Volumes), and of Philo, Volume V, Translated by

²J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome to the Close of the Golden Age (London, Unwin, 1910, and reprints), shows eight allusions to "Scipionic circle" in its Index (692); Martin Schanz, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, Erster Teil, Vierte... Auflage von Carl Hosius (Munich, Beck, 1927), shows three references to "Scipionenkreis" in its Alphabetisches Register (652).

F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker [all three volumes belong to The Loeb Classical Library]; September 19, Review, favorable, by Oswald G. Villard, of Henry W. Nevinson, In the Dark Backward.

The National Geographic Magazine—August, Redemption of the Pontine Marshes, Gelasio Caetani ["By draining the malarial wastes around Rome, Italy has created a promised land". There are illustrations, from photographs by the author].

The New Republic—July 11, Review, favorable, by Rolfe Humphries, of Robert Graves, I, Claudius.

The Nineteenth Century and After—September, The Cult of Assassination, R. C. Carr ["The regicide cult is a composite tradition of philosophy, of poetry and declamation, and of mythical personages.... Brutus and a whole line of legendary figures have been studied and imitated by political assassins.... The doctrine of tyrannicide is hallowed by antiquity, descending directly from the political ideas of Athens.... Yet actually a fundamental change has taken place in the conception of tyranny since the Greek writers"].

North American Review—August, Review, very favorable, of Robert Graves, I, Claudius.

Revista de Filología Española—Volume XXI (1934), Resti Romanzi di "Hic", "Haec", "Hoc", G. Bonfante; Reflejos de "Inde" en España, Georg Sachs.

Revue de L'Histoire des Religions—March-June, Ardisür et Aphrodite, Jean Prigyluski ["Bref, conformément au sentiment des Grecs, le nom de la déesse est bien forme de deux mots; toutefois ces éléments, au lieux d'être subordonnés l'un a l'autre, sont coordonnés comme dans Ardisür, Dèmètèr et Atargatis"]; Review, favorable, by R<ene> D<ussaud>, of M. Rostovtzeff, Kleinasiatische und Syrische Götter im Römischen Aegypten; Review, favorable, by E. Dhorme, of E. E. Kellet, A Short History of Religions ["Tres interessant aussi le chapitre sur la religion dans l'Empire romain...."].

Revue Historique—May-June, Review, generally favorable, by E<ugène> Albertini, of Viktor Burr, "Nostrum Mare": Ursprung und Geschichte der Namen des Mittelmeeres und Seiner Teilmeere im Altertum; Review, favorable, by Eugène Albertini, of Amedeo Maiuri, Ercolano; Review, qualifiedly favorable, by Eugène Albertini, of Grant Showerman, Rome and the Romans ["En somme, ce livre interesse plutôt l'historien de l'Amérique contemporaine, sur laquelle il apporte un témoignage, que l'historien de l'antiquité"]; Review, favorable, by Eugène Albertini, of Ernst Stein, Die Kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im Römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat, and of Emil Ritterling und Ernst Stein, Fasti des Römischen Deutschlands unter dem Prinzipat ["Les deux livres sont excellents"]; Review, qualifiedly favorable, by André Piganiol, of J. R. Palanque, Essai sur la Prefecture du Pretore sous le Bas-Empire.

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